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New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Agenda item 166 (*continued*)

Measures to eliminate international terrorism

Report of the Secretary-General (A/56/160 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Mr. Effah-Apenteng (Ghana): We welcome this opportunity to speak on the issue of international terrorism, in the light of recent developments in our host country.

The brazen, despicable acts perpetrated against the people of New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 have once again brought close to the very doorstep of this Organization the devastating impact of such ill-conceived and misguided actions. The lingering effects of such diabolical acts have wounded our collective psyche. The terrorist attacks, even though directed against the territory of the United States, constitute an act against the noble values of freedom and the rule of law. Humanity as a whole must respond to it in unity.

The eleventh of September 2001 will forever stand in the collective memory of humanity as a day of infamy.

At this moment of sorrow and grief, as the people of New York and Washington count the toll of innocent lives lost, we commiserate with them and share in their pain and sorrow. Ghana also lost some nationals in the attacks. We are indeed impressed by the overwhelming sense of strength, unity, fellowship and generosity that the attacks have generated.

The face of terrorism is one bloodied by its evil intention. Increasingly, the objectives of today's terrorists are suicidal, and, apparently, they have no demands to negotiate. We therefore need to move from a culture of reaction to one of prevention. More importantly, there is the need to identify, understand and address the underlying factors that permit such hatred, however misguided, to grow and fester. It would be ironic if, in this Year of Dialogue among Civilizations, the recent terrorist acts were misconstrued as a clash of civilizations.

The unfolding globalized economy has in its wake created opportunities, albeit temporary, for terrorist organizations to globalize their operations and execute their diabolical plans with speed and deadly accuracy, sometimes across several countries. No State is today immune to the brutal wrath of terrorism, even if the levels of vulnerability vary. We must therefore address the problem globally.

The fight against terrorism is beyond the scope and capacity of any single State and requires genuine cooperation on the part of all, at the national, regional and global levels. This recognition has already been affirmed by our heads of State and Government. At the United Nations Millennium Summit last year, they decided

> "To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions."

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(*resolution 55/2, Millennium Declaration, para. 9*)

Currently, there are 12 key global conventions and other regional instruments on terrorism. Hopefully, the ongoing work on a draft comprehensive convention on terrorism will soon be completed, and it should further enhance the legal regime within which international cooperation for the fight against terrorism can take place.

The report (A/56/326) of the Secretary-General entitled "Road map towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration" sets out very fine strategies for moving forward the resolve of the Heads of State and Government. The Secretary-General notes that States would be encouraged to sign, ratify and implement the conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and be assisted in developing and adopting corresponding laws and administrative procedures at the national level. We appeal to all Member States to quickly sign, ratify and implement these conventions. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), recently adopted, has reinforced the international legal regime against terrorism.

On our part, we emphasize the need for States to clearly and unambiguously identify and constantly keep open established channels of communication for the regular and speedy exchange of relevant information on terrorist activities, in such a way as to help foil their diabolical plans and decimate the life support systems that keep them operational.

We must genuinely cooperate and take concerted action to track and freeze financial and other assets that make it possible for terrorist organizations to exist. We must strengthen national investigative and enforcement institutions, and, as appropriate, extradite or vigorously prosecute all cases of terrorism that come within our respective jurisdictions. But we must also redeem, through dialogue and assistance, all turf adopted by terrorist organizations as bases for festering their evil machinations.

We must do all the above things and more, and speedily, too. The fight against terrorism will be long and arduous, and there may not be visible victors. But the peace and stability that will prevail will be a victory for all mankind. Ghana also looks forward to participating, at an appropriate future date, in the proposed high-level conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to formulate the international community's joint organized response to terrorism. We believe that such a conference, which enjoys the high political will of non-aligned member countries, will be useful and should carefully choose its priorities and agenda.

We recognize as criminal those acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror among the general public, who are innocent people My delegation calls for an early definition of the concept of terrorism, in ways that leave little ambiguity as to what it is and galvanize broad international support in the fight against terrorism, however defined.

It is our duty to bequeath to our children and future generations a stable and prosperous world, but we cannot attain this objective unless we, individually and collectively, solemnly rededicate our commitment to the Charter's principle of maintaining international peace and security. Terrorism is indeed a threat to this cherished principle, and all States are beholden to ensure its complete eradication.

Mr. Stanczyk (Poland): Let me begin by expressing the heartfelt condolences of my Government to the people and Government of the United States, and especially to the families of the victims of the barbaric attack of 11 September.

Poland fully associates itself with the statement made on behalf of the European Union by the representative of Belgium.

The terrorist attacks that befell our host city and country have left us all in deep shock and disbelief. The unparalleled magnitude and barbarity of the attacks and the loss of human life they entailed have demonstrated the destructive potential of terrorism and those who stand by it. They have also shown that those intent on bringing death and destruction do not feel bound by the moral norms and values shared among civilized nations. Their capability to create havoc is limited solely by their technical capacity and not by any considerations of a moral or humanitarian nature.

There is no doubt that acts of terrorism constitute a most serious violation of the principles of the United Nations and are aimed directly against the ideals which this Organization upholds. Moreover, they constitute a significant threat to international peace and security. The recent tragic events have once again confirmed that international terrorism is a global phenomenon. It knows no boundaries, and its effects are not limited to

any particular country or region. Being a global challenge, it demands a global response. And a global response requires, in turn, global cooperation.

The role that the United Nations, as the only Organization with universal participation and competence, should assume in this respect is pivotal in the struggle against this scourge of our times. The message that emanates from this forum should be unambiguous: there will be no tolerance for acts of terrorism in this world and no safe havens for the perpetrators and organizers of such atrocious acts.

Nothing can justify the loss of innocent human lives. We fully share the view of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, that the United Nations is uniquely positioned to develop a broad anti-terrorist coalition. What is now required is development of a long-term strategy that would address all aspects of this phenomenon. An important step in the development of such a strategy has already been taken by the Security Council, when it adopted on 28 September resolution 1373 (2001), in which it called upon States to take concrete action and cooperate to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks. The establishment of a Committee to monitor the implementation of this resolution should significantly enhance its practical impact on the way in which States coordinate their efforts to combat terrorism.

International legal instruments play an important role in the fight against terrorism. We welcome the progress that has been made in this respect in the last few years. The adoption of international conventions for the suppression of terrorist bombings and for the suppression of the financing of terrorism has filled important gaps in the existing legal infrastructure in this field. It is incumbent upon us to work relentlessly towards further progress in this respect. One cannot overestimate the significance of an international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. We sincerely hope that the remaining differences that stand in the way of the conclusion of such a document will soon be resolved. It is also important that work on the draft of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism continue in a constructive spirit. Such a convention should, in particular, contain effective provisions in the field of inter-State cooperation. Taking into account similarities in methods employed by terrorist organizations and criminal organizations, and possible interrelationships between them, it should also draw upon the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Moreover, this Assembly should launch an urgent appeal for the universalization of all major international conventions against terrorism.

The idea of creating a monitoring mechanism to facilitate the implementation of the existing conventions deserves our full support. Such a mechanism could play an important role in ensuring that the conventions are implemented uniformly and that their provisions are respected. We should also make a comprehensive overview of the existing conventions so as to evaluate their effectiveness and possibly identify areas that would require further regulation.

The importance of regional and bilateral cooperation should also be stressed, and steps should be taken to facilitate such cooperation, even in the absence of a legally binding agreement between the States concerned. This is particularly important in the areas of information exchange and cutting terrorists off from their sources of financing.

Poland attaches great importance to the international standards set in this respect, being a party to a vast majority of international conventions that regulate this subject. Moreover, our domestic legislation contains specific provisions aimed at effectively repressing, as well as preventing, terrorist acts. We will continue our work in adhering to the instruments to which we are not yet a party. Today Poland will sign the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, which will be another step in this direction.

Mr. Naidu (Fiji): Terrorism has fast become an intellectual concept and the subject of academic deliberations in the United Nations in recent years. Numerous international, regional and bilateral treaties, conventions and declarations to suppress and prevent terrorism have been concluded. Mostly, however, these instruments address narrow sectoral interests and so have limited scope. Good progress has been made this past year by the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/210 and the Sixth Committee working group on terrorism to elaborate a comprehensive international convention, based on a draft proposed by India. The exact status of this convention and of the definition of terrorism are not settled and will continue to stifle the elaboration process.

Sadly, conventions and treaties have failed to deter terrorists from their path of destruction. We all saw the world shaken by the mindless terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., and the tragic loss of innocent civilian lives.

Since this debate commenced, we have all clearly agreed that the nationality, ethnicity, creed, religion or motives of the attackers are irrelevant. We thus applaud the Secretary-General's call for a broad coalition of States to maintain vigilance, cooperate on extraterritorial legal processes, share technical expertise and best-practice models and act as a forum in which to continue discussions on terrorism. This is all the more important as terrorism seems to be taking on a geopolitical face to challenge the evolving international order, thereby shaping political scenarios.

Let us not languish in fear of further reprisals or violent reactions. This is our opportunity to seize the new culture of conflict prevention, driven by the Secretary-General, as a critical platform for Member States to chart our destiny on a course bringing us much closer to international peace and security in the new millennium. We agree that in so doing the role of his office in peace-brokering inevitably expands and that Member States entrust him with this delicate task. That is an avenue that Fiji supports.

The culture of reaction continues the spiral of intensifying conflict and makes peace elusive. This spiral is reaching previously unknown dimensions and extending violations of international humanitarian, human rights and conflict law to new limits.

The United Nations must now capitalize on the groundswell of international solidarity emanating from the recent crisis to strengthen dialogue against international terrorism, as we all have in some way been touched by its many forms and manifestations.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) identifies these various forms, which often and inadvertently place Member States in positions of compromise with terrorists.

Invariably, Member States engage in illicit drug-trafficking, sponsor organized transnational crimes, launder proceeds of crime or terrorism or are crippled by encroaching pressures of international terrorism under the pretext of legitimate economic activities. Others actively nurture these elements in foreign jurisdictions for political gains. Some States thrive on internal terrorism, lending legitimacy to the politicization of violence, which itself is anathema to a culture of peace, stability and human rights. Fiji is a victim of terrorism impacting on our body politic and undermining our nation-building in the last two decades. Not surprisingly, terrorism has defied attempts at its definition.

Resolution 1373 (2001) is binding on each Member State, pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Notwithstanding its lack of a definition of terrorism or terrorist acts, the resolution obligates us to take measures individually to advance our collective fight against terrorism. Some of its seemingly far-reaching effects still need to take human rights standards into account. Advancing our global vigilance for basic human rights promotes peace and, inversely, defies terrorism.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the moral definition of terrorism is clear to all; likewise, its legal definition, if properly guided by ethics and logic, should serve as leverage for, rather than impede, our elaboration. Political expediency or neutrality has no place in this equation.

Terrorism wages war against civilian people, who often are defenceless and unprepared but are specifically protected by law, as in the case of Geneva Conventions. That 75 per cent of the casualties of conflicts are civilians is a sombre signal to the international community of the blatant disregard of accepted norms; this is accentuated by ruthless terrorist attacks, with their tolls reaching unprecedented levels.

No brand of terrorism is ever acceptable. Our fight must be holistic and all-encompassing. We need to augment the piecemeal, sectoral and narrow-focused goals of the past to yield lasting political, legal and ideological solutions. We are on the right paths to this goal. Each sectoral convention can be instrumental in fighting terrorism if we act now to adopt a treaty comprehensive enough to activate every wheel or cog in this machinery, which we are making stronger every year. States parties need to implement their treaty obligations too.

In the near future, Fiji hopes to include among the instruments it has ratified the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings of 1997 and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 1999. Fiji has pursued domestic, regional and international measures. We are

strengthening security arrangements at all entry ts to guard against international terrorism and t drug-trafficking.

Much more is demanded of Member States to ter terrorism's growing sophistication and invasive ad. Its ready access to the impressionable minds of erable people is a valuable lesson to us all. These encies find fertile ground in political instability, ession, poverty and economic marginalization, and ften blended with ideological fervour.

We are convinced that a critical first step in the against terrorism is to promote freedom, ocracy, rule of law and respect for human rights. would remove opportunities for intolerance and emism, two hotbeds of terrorist tendencies.

We draw great strength from your leadership on item, and from the honour bestowed on us all in Assembly by the moving opening statement by or Giuliani and the Secretary-General's sober unt of our requisite duties and obligations.

New York City and, indeed, the United States of rica teach us that differences and diversity lead to oration, and prejudices do not; and that our rences strengthen us, but our prejudices weaken These bold yet simple words can guide our steps in ing this increasingly complex menace, whose ges we all witnessed three weeks ago.

Let me close with His Excellency the President of s remembrance of this tragedy in his opening ess to the newly convened Parliament on Monday.

"International terrorism is a threat ... to individual countries and ... to the peace and security of the whole world. Fiji ... must lend its full support to international endeavours to combat this scourge on humanity."

Mr. Tomka (Slovakia): My country has aligned f with the statement made by the delegate of ium, last Monday morning, on behalf of the pean Union and the associated countries. The ortance of the topic under consideration rtheless warrants that some additional national ts be made.

The terrorist acts committed on 11 September in the United States are crimes against humanity an assault on the whole of mankind. The loss of sands of innocent civilians — nationals of so many countries — is evidence that anyone of us can be, at any time, victim of blood-thirsty individuals or groups.

My country welcomes and fully supports resolution 1373 (2001) of the Security Council adopted last Friday. What is now required are efficient steps and speedy action that can prevent horrible terrorist attacks in new forms and intensity, including nuclear, biological and chemical terrorism. I wish to confirm that the Slovak Republic is determined and ready to cooperate with all peace-loving countries, under the leadership of the Security Council, in all efforts to eradicate international terrorism.

Slovakia has played an active role in the preparation of international instruments aimed at coping with the threat of terrorist attacks. The Slovak Republic is a party to 11 of the 12 international anti-terrorist conventions, as well as a party to three regional instruments on this subject. Recently, on 8 December 2000, Slovakia ratified the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf. Furthermore, on 26 January 2001, Slovakia signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Significant steps towards its ratification have been taken and the Slovak Republic will, hopefully, ratify this Convention early next year. All obligations arising from the existing anti-terrorist conventions are fully implemented in the country's domestic legislation.

Let me join all those delegates who have during our debate called upon all States to ratify and fully implement without delay all anti-terrorist conventions. Let me add our voice in support of a speedy conclusion of the work on the comprehensive convention on international terrorism and the convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism.

Since we cannot exclude that the terrorists may have access to weapons of mass destruction, let me add that we are of the view that all international conventions banning weapons of mass destruction should be supplemented by a strict regime of verification.

This century should be one of a resolute fight against terrorists. In fact, they are hostes humani generis, enemies of all humanity, and as such should be

viewed as outlaws. Their acts should be treated as offences against the law of nations, and every State can and should bring them to justice.

All the new measures to be taken in order to combat international terrorism should allow for law enforcement organs, criminal justice institutions and intelligence and security services to effectively deal with the most dangerous crimes of these days. We are fully aware that one country alone cannot adequately respond to terrorist attacks. The international community, all States and all nations must join together in the fight against this threat. States must foresee possible targets of terrorists, and, in order to be one step ahead of them, they must enhance cooperation and the exchange of relevant information.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the establishment of the Committee for the monitoring of the implementation of the resolution provide a very solid basis for decisive and united action against terrorism. When needed, we should not hesitate to use the international legal framework for such a struggle against a common enemy. Recent events have proved that major developments in law are always the result of a crisis.

Mr. Mamba (Swaziland): I am pleased to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your well earned and well deserved election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We have no doubt that your able leadership will steer this session to a successful conclusion.

International terrorism is a global menace of our age. Its emergence is a major challenge facing the international community. Indeed, the phenomenon is one of the major threats in this millennium to international peace and security.

In the wake of the tragic events of 11 September, the international community is still reeling in shock over the heartless and malicious manner in which those terrifying acts, which resulted in tremendous loss of lives and destruction of property, were committed. Our hearts go out to the victims and their families. The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland has, for its part, expressed its solidarity with the United States in condemning the recent assault on its territory. My delegation remains optimistic that the rule of law will eventually prevail and that the perpetrators of those atrocities will be brought to justice.

The Kingdom of Swaziland shares the concerns of the international community over the alarming increase in acts of terrorism. Acts of terrorism, by their nature and links to trafficking in narcotics and small arms and to organized crime, destabilize social and political institutions and put economic development in jeopardy. For the reason that it respects no borders, there is clearly a need for effective international cooperation to eradicate this menace, which has emerged as the most compelling crime the world must contend with.

The Millennium Declaration, which was adopted by our heads of State and Government on 8 September 2000, gives us a firm basis to act swiftly. On that occasion our leaders resolved at the highest level to take concerted action against international terrorism and to accede as soon as possible to all relevant international conventions. This they did in recognition of the need for a global response to terrorism.

In that regard, we applaud the achievements of the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/210, of 1996, which have led to a substantial codification of international law on terrorism. The legal instruments it has concluded undoubtedly constitute an effective accomplishment in the sphere of international cooperation against international terrorism. In our view, they form part of an appropriate response to increase the effectiveness of international cooperation for the eradication of terrorism and thus to end the impunity terrorists have enjoyed for so long.

We also hope that with the elaboration of a comprehensive international convention against terrorism — thanks to a draft proposal by the Government of India — a truly integrated and holistic approach to international terrorism will be in place, and that it will ensure more added value to the current sectoral legal instruments already in force.

I must hasten to point out here that, without prejudice to the right of States to defend themselves, there is a need to strengthen and enhance the role of our Organization as an indispensable instrument for maintaining international peace and security, and for mobilizing the people of the world against new, unprecedented threats. And, as stated by the Secretary-General in presenting his report on the work of the Organization, it is only the United Nations that

"can give global legitimacy to the long-term struggle against terrorism." (*A/56/PV.7*)

A week later he told the Assembly:

"Terrorism will be defeated if the international community [unites] in a broad coalition, or it will not be defeated at all." (*A/56/PV.12*)

There is much that we can do to help prevent future atrocities. In that spirit, we welcome Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), which lays down the blueprint Member States must adhere to if we are to succeed in our collective endeavour to fight terrorism.

There could be no better opportunity than now to address the question of convening a high-level conference under the auspices of the United Nations to formulate a joint organized response by the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. In that regard, we reiterate the call by the twelfth summit of the Non-Aligned Movement — held in Durban, South Africa, in 1998 — for the convening of such a conference, which would serve to facilitate consensus among States on measures to combat terrorism, as well as to encourage a climate of confidence and cooperation. We are confident that, with the collective wisdom of all its members, the United Nations will achieve its goals and will prevail.

Mr. Djangoné-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): I begin by expressing to you, Mr. President, Côte d'Ivoire's pleasure at your presiding over the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Allow me also to say how pleased I am that you are guiding our work as I address the Assembly for the first time. At this solemn time, I assure you of my delegation's readiness to cooperate fully with you.

I also extend Côte d'Ivoire's warm congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, on the superb way in which he discharged his difficult tasks, and its fraternal congratulations to Secretary-General Kofi Annan on his reappointment to head the United Nations. His outstanding work since his initial appointment presaged such a development in his brilliant career. We offer him our best wishes for success.

Mr. Loizaga (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The opening of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly coincided with an unforgettable tragedy for both Americans and the entire world. A terrorist organization hijacked four American planes on domestic flights in order to commit four fatal attacks, whose victims number in the thousands. Côte d'Ivoire condemns in the firmest and most categorical manner those acts of terrorism, which no human reasoning can justify. The Government and people of Côte d'Ivoire pay respectful tribute to the memory of the victims, who were of a number of nationalities.

As President Laurent Gbagbo has done, we reiterate our sincere condolences to the courageous American people, the authorities of the host country and the bereaved families. We also extend our condolences to all the other countries that have been plunged into mourning by this appalling tragedy. We salute the courage, bravery and patriotism of the rescue teams — the fire-fighters, police officers and volunteers from civil society — who, at the risk of their own lives, managed to extricate from the wreckage some of the victims who survived.

We are convinced that the proud and brave American people, who are accustomed to great challenges and to adversity, will not let themselves be defeated by this difficult ordeal. Americans are already demonstrating to the world that in the face of adversity there is a need to remain united and strong and to silence partisan squabbling — an outstanding lesson in patriotism. I assure them that they will not lack the support and solidarity of Côte d'Ivoire in their just struggle against the true perpetrators and sponsors of these cowardly attacks.

In that regard, my country firmly supports Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), adopted promptly and unanimously on Friday, 28 September. If vigorously applied, this resolution will be an effective weapon in the international community's war on terrorism. Côte d'Ivoire also supports the proposal to convene a high-level conference under United Nations auspices to draft a concerted and adequate response to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The 11 September terrorist attacks shocked and, indeed, traumatized the entire world. They also raised a plethora of questions. Questions have even arisen about the role of the United Nations in the management of serious crises. To be sure, since 1963 the struggle against terrorism has been the subject of many conventions, resolutions and other international legal instruments adopted in the United Nations and in other

international bodies. Unfortunately, there has been no consensus whatsoever on the definition of the word "terrorism". How can the international community effectively combat an evil if the members of that community differ about the nature of that evil?

Beyond the legal, military and other measures needed to completely eradicate terrorism, we need to consider the root causes of this modern-day scourge so glaringly illustrated in the bloody attacks of 11 September. In that connection, those attacks demand our attention. What can cause human beings to turn themselves into living bombs and to end their own lives — along, above all, with those of thousands of other, innocent, people? We must raise questions here in this universal Organization, whose Charter refers in its very first lines to the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to

> "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
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> "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
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> "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
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> "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
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> "and for these ends
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> "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
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> "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
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> "to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
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> "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples."

At a time when we are here, following the disastrous events of 11 September 2001, to reflect on measures to combat international terrorism, there is good reason to ask whether resolutions — as fine as they may be — have always been respected. The Millennium Declaration begins,

> "We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world." (*resolution 55/2, para. 1*)

It is wrong for our Organization to continue to tolerate the obvious lack of democracy in some regions while it fails to encourage Governments in other regions which are making a meaningful effort to democratize their countries. As we all know, a lack of democracy spawns injustice, frustration and, naturally, poor governance. While respecting the sovereignty of its Member States, the Organization must work impartially to ensure the universality of its great principles. Here too, the primacy of international law must be institutionalized everywhere in the world.

Since its creation, the United Nations has encouraged the codification and progressive development of international law, in a process that has exceeded the expectations of the founders. International law, which is respected by nearly all nations in nearly all circumstances, is critical to peaceful relations and to cooperation. Unfortunately, international law stands powerless today to advance and champion moral values and exemplary behaviour. Here again, the Organization must remain vigilant in order to bring offenders to justice and, if possible, to punish them firmly and in a just and equitable manner.

There can be no genuine, human globalization without a recognition that solidarity is a prerequisite duty. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, has stated that solutions will be found only if global questions are addressed comprehensively through better cooperation, closer alliances, greater commitment and renewed solidarity. Solidarity must therefore be viewed as an important ideal. A genuine sense of solidarity can also contribute to resolving the fundamental question of international terrorism.

In truth, the solutions to all the international community's problems are to be found in the Charter of the United Nations, which advocates peace, justice and solidarity. The only obstacle is the inability of Member States to work together in solidarity and to implement

fully the noble ideals of the Organization. Let us not forget that the real power of the United Nations to take action and to meet all these challenges lies in the willingness of Member States to recognize, accept and enhance that power through solidarity. That is how we can eradicate the evil of international terrorism, whose perpetrators are from all countries, races and religions.

Mr. Šerkšnys (Lithuania): First of all, I would like to congratulate Mr. Han Seung-soo on his election as President of the General Assembly. I wish him all success in his honourable and very responsible mission.

The tragic events of 11 September in the United States, caused by unprecedented terrorist attacks in the cities of New York and Washington, D.C., affected the lives of many people and unexpectedly changed our plans and our goals. Those events added to the sad list of the black days of history on which we have witnessed the loss of many innocent lives. Allow me, on behalf of the Lithuanian Government and the people of Lithuania, to present my sincere condolences to the representative of the United States of America and to those affected by this human tragedy. The Lithuanian people share the sadness and the pain of those who have suffered as a result of the deadly terrorist attacks.

Lithuania strongly condemns the terrorist action against the United States and expresses its solidarity and support, both political and practical, to the United States as well as its determination to stand alongside the international community in its fight against terrorism.

Lithuania values highly and is participating in the collective work of the United Nations in the context of its complex action against terrorism. Our Organization has at its disposal the necessary political and legal remedies effectively to respond to those who are engaged in terrorist activities. The adoption of Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) the day after the tragedies that took place in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania demonstrated the ability of our Organization to act operatively and effectively. We also welcome the recent adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), which provides strong and effective tools for preventing international terrorism.

Lithuania also attaches great importance to the role of other international forums on anti-terrorist issues. My country supports the statements made by the North Atlantic Council and the decision to apply the Washington Treaty as regards the terrorist attacks against the United States. I should like to note that the Lithuanian Government has decided to grant a permanent diplomatic clearance for the overflight and landing of United States Government aircraft.

The Lithuanian Government has aligned itself with the conclusions and plan of action of the Council of the European Union of 21 September. My delegation also aligns itself with the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Belgium to the United Nations on behalf of the European Union. Lithuania fully supports the European Union calls for the broadest possible global coalition against terrorism under the auspices of the United Nations.

Lithuania reiterates its position that the combat against terrorism is one of the most important areas in which closer political and practical cooperation between international organizations is necessary.

Lithuania also will reassess its relations with certain countries in the light of the support which those countries might give to terrorism.

Lithuania also is strongly committed to take the necessary individual internal measures. Additional domestic legal acts and amendments to existing regulations relating to the suppression of terrorism, as well as security measures and measures on other related issues, have been initiated. Lithuania currently is working on a national action programme on combating terrorism and intensifying trilateral Baltic cooperation on developing joint measures in this respect.

Lithuania, which is already a State party to a number of United Nations and other international instruments, is now speeding up the necessary procedures to accede to other relevant multilateral agreements, namely the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic agents, and others. Lithuania is also expecting the finalization and adoption by the General Assembly of two new important multilateral instruments: the convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and the comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Lithuania will strengthen control of the import, transit and export of strategic goods and technologies.

Efforts directed towards the prevention of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and related materials and technologies as well as illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons will be reinforced.

Allow me to come back briefly to what I said concerning the need for practical and political cooperation between the United Nations and other international organizations. As has been repeatedly pointed out, there are 12 basic United Nations multilateral instruments directly designed to suppress terrorism. Indeed, it is a legal basis of a universal nature. But international legality provides for a much broader set of relevant international instruments. For example, the Council of Europe has successfully elaborated a number of treaties, such as the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, the European Convention on Extradition and its protocols, and so on. I think that there are sufficient grounds for an exchange of experiences and good practices between our Organization and the Council of Europe. Let me add that these documents of the European treaty system are open not only to the member States of the Council of Europe but to others.

In conclusion, I should like to say that I believe that the proper combination of domestic efforts and international remedies directed against terrorism will lead us to success in preventing it.

Mr. Fall (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): My country, Senegal, and its people, through the President of the Republic, Mr. Abdoulaye Wade, have unanimously — regardless of political, sociological or religious views — strongly and vigorously condemned the terrorist attacks perpetrated against the United States of America on 11 September last.

In paying tribute to the undying memory of the thousands of innocent victims who were brutally taken away from their loved ones, I should like convey once again our deepest condolences, our heartfelt compassion and our unfailing solidarity to the bereaved families, to the brave people and the Government of the United States of America, and to all of the other countries — almost half of the States Members of the United Nations — that have been plunged into mourning by this unspeakable tragedy.

The unprecedented, indiscriminate and heinous violence of the attacks, their devastating effects in terms of human life and physical property and their premeditated and carefully planned nature deeply wounded, distressed and outraged the community of peoples of the United Nations.

Whether perpetrated by individuals, States or non-State groups, terrorism can never go unpunished. Acts of terrorism can never be excused — much less accorded legitimacy — regardless of where they occur, the motives behind them or the circumstances surrounding them, and regardless of the identity of their masterminds, perpetrators or victims or their political beliefs, sociocultural heritage or creed.

My delegation is gratified at the strong sense of responsibility of the Security Council and the General Assembly and at the remarkable speed with which they addressed this threat to humankind, its security and its future by condemning unanimously and with the utmost vigour these barbaric acts, which are totally beyond the pale in terms of ethics, religion and common sense.

Above and beyond a formal condemnation, we must react vigorously, strongly and concretely and take action that sends a clear message before our painful memories can fade as a result of the passage of time, our preoccupation with our everyday problems or a realpolitik that nothing, absolutely nothing, could warrant or justify.

That is the deeper meaning of the initiative taken by the President of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Abdoulaye Wade, who, the day after the tragedy of 11 September and hence before the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 1373 (2001), proposed the idea of an African covenant against terrorism. Allow me here to quote the head of State of Senegal, who said:

> "The African countries have individually condemned the terrorist acts committed against the United States on 11 September and expressed their solidarity with the American people. A global coalition against terrorism is being put together. The European countries are joining it, individually and, above all, in an organized front in the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I have felt that the African countries in turn should be involved, above and beyond a simple verbal declaration, through direct action in a global struggle. The reasons for this are, above all, our rejection of violence and our condemnation of terrorism, which threatens all States, including ours, directly or indirectly.

Indeed, while the direct threat is clear, there is an indirect and real threat if an African State is involved in terrorist actions against another country. If reprisals are taken, they threaten our continent."

Combining deeds with words, as is his wont, the President of the Republic of Senegal contacted the Head of State of Zambia, Mr. Frederick Chiluba, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to discuss a proposal aimed at concluding an agreement among African States in the form of an African covenant against terrorism with the establishment of a commission of heads of State.

In substance and by way of example, President Wade suggested — prior to the Security Council's meeting — a certain number of measures that the commission could set forth, to be articulated around the following issues, which are open to amendment and elaboration: cooperation and coordination with other anti-terrorist coalitions throughout the world; the commitment of every African State to reject and to refrain from participating, in any form whatsoever, in terrorist activities and actions; the commitment of every African State not to finance the activities or actions of terrorist groups; the commitment of every African State to refuse access to its territory to any individuals or groups with terrorist intentions; and the commitment of every African State to agree to all African or international inspections if there are signs that terrorist actions are in preparation.

This African covenant, which should be set under way at the meeting in Dakar this month, would be a useful complement to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, adopted in Algiers in July 1999 at the initiative of Algeria and with the support of Senegal, a member of the Group of Five specially mandated by the central organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. At the same time, it should be noted in order to stress the initiative's timeliness and scope that the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which Senegal is also a member, has also adopted several resolutions and, above all, a Convention on Combating International Terrorism.

For its part, the Non-Aligned Movement, at its ministerial meeting in April 2000, launched the idea of an international summit conference on terrorism, under the auspices of the United Nations. The convening of that conference would be an appropriate response to the wish of the Security Council, which, in its resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1373 (2001), emphasized the absolute need to intensify the struggle against terrorism and to enhance international cooperation in this key area on the basis of the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law.

This universal cooperation is all the more unavoidable now that it is clear that no State alone can win the war against the shadowy multinational criminals of terrorism. This fight requires the building of a global coalition based on regional or subregional arrangements that already exist or have yet to be created, following the models of the excellent European initiatives and the draft African covenant proposed by Senegal.

This world coalition has today become a categorical imperative, because the nature, methods, forms and manifestations of terrorist activities have changed and been refined in unsuspected ways. I refer in this regard to chemical, bacteriological, nuclear and other forms of terrorism, the terrifying dangers of which, far from being a distant or theoretical prospect, deserve to be seriously taken into account in order to spare mankind the apocalypse of a collective disaster.

Senegal energetically supports the inspired appeal of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, who, in his report, has urged Member States to adhere to the 12 conventions and protocols on international terrorism, prepared and adopted under United Nations auspices. Among these legal instruments are the important International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, the entry into force of which must be accelerated.

The stakes in this battle require us as soon as possible to set aside our usual, if not to say scholastic, disputes on the definition of the very concept of terrorism. Moreover, while the discussions in the Commission on Human Rights and other relevant forums may be very interesting and rich, the malevolent octopus of terrorism and its destructive tentacles are, unfortunately, an extremely visible and tragically palpable, hideous reality.

An international consensus must urgently be established on the basis of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) in order to give shape to our common struggle. Senegal strongly encourages the Ad Hoc

Committee on international terrorism created by the General Assembly to do all it can to conclude its work and to complete the elaboration of the draft convention.

On the basis of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 1368 (2001) of 12 September and 1373 (2001) of 28 September, my country has no doubt whatsoever that all States Members of the United Nations fraternity will, without exception, undertake the resolute commitment to refrain from any act aimed at organizing, encouraging, supporting, financing or committing terrorist acts. Senegal has no doubt that all Member States will ensure that their territory is not used for terrorism purposes or serve as a sanctuary for the professionals and militants of terrorism. Senegal has no doubt that all Member States will take the necessary measures to promote an exchange of information on terrorist groups, movements and organizations with a view to preventing the establishment, development and spread of networks that support terrorism.

Before concluding, I should like, as others have, to stress the vital need for the international community to address with equal and fervent determination the inherent causes of terrorism and the means of stemming the scourges of poverty, exclusion and alienation — flagrant injustices that are the fertile ground in which all frustrations, despair and exasperation thrive.

I wish, lastly, to reiterate our firm conviction that the struggle against terrorism is one without quarter for the safeguarding of freedoms and the promotion of human rights. It is a daily struggle for democracy and the rule of law, a fight without concession for civil peace, the survival of humankind and the triumph of the lofty values that we all share. It is an implacable war against transnational organized crime that can in no way brook vain attempts to cobble together insidious philosophies or sterile temptations to erect artificial barriers between nations and cultures, spirituality and civilizations.

Humankind is, indeed, passing through a crucial stage in the human journey and is pondering its destiny. It stands at a crossroads; it can either embrace life or side with those who deal in death. For its part, Senegal, together with the overwhelming majority of human beings, has chosen life and hope.

May we all, together, combine our willpower, unite our efforts and build the consensus and synergy that we need so that the General Assembly and the Security Council can continue to speak out loudly, clearly and with one voice for the only cause that matters in the face of the rise of extremism. We must consider anew the worsening state of human poverty and distress so as to ensure the survival of humankind and the triumph of the human being through the building of a global covenant. That is the only way to prevail over international terrorism.

Mr. Balzan (Malta): Earlier this week the representative of Belgium delivered a statement on behalf of the European Union and associated countries, including Malta. While endorsing the substance of his statement in its entirety, I should like to make a number of comments from Malta's own perspective.

While terrorism has raised its ugly head countless times in countless places, never has a single manifestation of this cowardly and cold-blooded behaviour sent such waves of panic and fear across the entire world. In our globalized and connected world, viewers thousands of miles away shared through their television screens the same sense of horror and revulsion that the heinous events of 11 September created in all of us here in the host city of the United Nations. On the very day that this General Assembly was to begin consideration of the items on its agenda, many of which are of great import and urgency, the reality of the threat of global terrorism on an unprecedented scale imposed itself at the top of the order of the day.

But terrorism is not new to the agenda of the United Nations. In recent days, the ongoing discussions on how best to deal with terrorism at the international level have been overtaken by the sheer monstrosity of the tragedy that has moved us all. Its resolve bolstered by these recent events, on 28 September the Security Council took dramatic and far-reaching action aimed at strengthening international cooperation in the exchange of information relating to terrorism and the stifling of financial flows that underpin it. Drawing largely on existing discussions within the United Nations, the Council brought many of the proposals and prescriptions directly into the realm of international law, with immediate and universal effect. The fact that such measures aimed at the undermining of the scourge of terrorism have taken on the strength of law is certainly welcome.

The new measures on the exchange of operational information on terrorism, together with new measures aimed at cutting off the financial lifeline of large-scale terrorist operations, when implemented as single, constituent links in a larger chain of strategies and mechanisms, will be able seriously to impair terrorists' ability to act.

The Government of Malta is fully committed to the efforts of the international community aimed at the eradication of terrorism and the swift and comprehensive implementation of the measures provided for in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). Malta was among the very first countries to sign the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism when it opened for signature on 10 January 2000. It prides itself on its strong record of fighting financial crime, and works closely on the issue with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and within the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth.

The Maltese Government has already embarked on an intensive investigation, working together with the national financial and regulatory bodies, to seek out any links between suspect organizations and transactions through local financial institutions. While the search has so far proved negative, full diligence and scrutiny continue to be exercised.

The Government of Malta stands four-square behind the international community in its efforts to deny terrorists the means to repeat the dastardly acts of 11 September. Out of the debris of those events, a new sense of common purpose has been born within the international community. Countries have been swift in their recognition of common interests and share a common determination to rid the world of the scourge of terrorism. The remarkable expression of political will and decisive action that has been witnessed in the last three weeks inspires real hope that multilateral efforts to root out the terrible growth of terrorism can make significant in-roads.

In conclusion, I should like to declare my Government's firm commitment to stand with the international community in this struggle every step of the way.

Mr. Niculescu (Romania): Romania associates itself with the statement made by the representation of Belgium on behalf of the European Union, and fully shares its important and constructive political message. I would like to make some additional comments from a national perspective.

Three weeks ago, on 11 September, something unthinkable happened. The barbaric attacks against the United States have shocked people all over the world. We all witnessed with horror a villainous attack against freedom, peace and humanity. Over 7,000 innocent civilians from more than 80 nations, including Romania, were murdered. Romania shares the profound grief caused by these atrocities. We once again express our heartfelt and deepest sympathy to all the victims and their families, to the Government of the United States and to the American people.

In full solidarity with the Government of the United States, on 19 September Romania's Parliament, taking note of the decision of the North Atlantic Council to implement article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, passed a resolution aimed at providing the facilities of the national sea, land and air space in order to support a possible response action against terrorism and at coordinating Romania's actions with the United States of America and NATO and with their partners and allies in order to put at their disposal available forces and means in keeping with the proposed actions.

We take part in this important debate with a deep sense of responsibility and urgency. As the Secretary-General said in his introductory remarks at the 12th meeting, "We are in a moral struggle to fight an evil that is anathema to all faiths." There must be no political or religious justification for terrorist violence, and no people or religion should be blamed for acts of mindless individuals. Unity and not division of humanity is the right response to this common enemy, which knows no national borders and can target any of our societies. Terrorism must be universally condemned and fought on a global front. The international community must act in a united way, on the basis of our shared values, in building a universal coalition and defining a global, legitimate, long-term strategy to fight terrorism.

The actions already taken by the United Nations in the past weeks — Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1 — not only unequivocally condemn the attacks, identifying them as a threat to international peace and security and underlining the right to collective and individual self-defence under the

Charter, but also set a clear agenda before Member States.

We are required to take the necessary steps within our own systems to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including by provision of early warning; to deny financing, support and safe haven to terrorists; to work together to share information and protect against terrorist acts; and to become parties without delay to the 12 conventions and protocols on international terrorism adopted under United Nations auspices.

Romania is party to 10 of these universal instruments and to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. It has signed the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, of 1999. The process of ratification of these two conventions is to be completed soon.

We fully share the widespread opinion that we should speed up the efforts to conclude and adopt a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. We are prepared to take an active part in building an agreement on the outstanding issues, including the question of the definition of terrorism.

The fight against the scourge of terrorism calls upon the Member States to cooperate at both the regional and international levels. As far as Romania is concerned, let me first mention the contribution by the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Romanian Foreign Minister, who, at a recent special session of the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna, called on all 55 participating States to use their regional connections and bring a valuable contribution by sharing information and expertise related to terrorist or any other criminal activities, to strengthen their legislation, including provisions for a European-wide mandate for detention and extradition of suspects and to take action to identify and clamp down on sources of financing of terrorism.

In particular, suggestions were made that all the OSCE missions be mandated to increase their border monitoring and policing, and border surveillance and security in vulnerable regions, and to identify needs and channel assistance on standardizing counter-terrorism legislation and counter-terrorism training, while OSCE might explore the potential for expanding training programmes to include counter-terrorism training compatible with human rights.

The Chairman-in-Office has also proposed the setting up of a working group on the OSCE's role in combating terrorism, with the participation of a representative of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention.

Secondly, I would like to mention that the national annual plan of Romania's preparation for adherence to NATO for 2001-2002, approved by the Government only few days ago, includes a chapter with special measures, to be implemented at the national level, aimed at facilitating regional cooperation to combat terrorism. These include the amending of national legislation; the ratification of the previously mentioned anti-terrorism conventions and of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime; and full utilization of the mechanisms, capabilities and expertise of the South European Cooperative Initiative Centre for Combating Trans-Border Crime based in Bucharest.

Miss Ramoutar (Trinidad and Tobago): The following statement is delivered on behalf of His Excellency Mr. George W. McKenzie, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations.

The Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago shares the deep sense of shock and grief experienced by the Government and people of the United States at the attacks on the City of New York and Washington, D.C., on 11 September 2001. We extend our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families, and our condolences to all countries that lost nationals in these barbaric attacks. Trinidad and Tobago has also suffered losses.

On 12 September 2001, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago reaffirmed its solidarity with and support for the Government and people of the United States and declared our unreserved commitment to assist the American people wherever we can. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago also conveyed to the United States the assurance of our continued support in global efforts to combat the scourge of international terrorism.

Trinidad and Tobago strongly condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and reiterates that no motive could ever justify terrorist acts. The attacks of

11 September now pose a challenge to the international community as a whole and demand a strong international response.

As events unfold, it has become clearer to us that all our countries are susceptible to terrorism in one form or another. For this reason we, the international community, must solidify our efforts to eradicate this evil from our world. It is incumbent upon us to put in place effective measures to strengthen cooperation between States in order to ensure the punishment of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism and those who support them. This international effort requires commitment and solidarity, and we are encouraged by the support of the international community towards global efforts to eradicate terrorism on all fronts.

Trinidad and Tobago continues to support the ongoing efforts of the United Nations in respect of the question of terrorism. We view the adoption of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), as well as General Assembly resolution 56/1, as positive steps made by this Organization towards advancing the international effort to eradicate terrorism.

We will participate in the efforts under way in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly to conclude the negotiation of a comprehensive convention against terrorism. In furtherance of our stance against terrorism, Trinidad and Tobago acceded to the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings in April of this year, and we will undertake similar efforts in respect of other relevant treaties, especially in the light of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

Trinidad and Tobago has always opposed transnational criminal activities, and only last week we signed the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air. We are aware of the need for constant vigilance, given the linkages between terrorism and transnational organized crime, which take many forms, including the illicit traffic in drugs, the illicit trade in weapons, especially small arms and light weapons, and money-laundering. These manifestations of terrorism lead to the destabilization of the world economy and also heighten the negative impact on the economies of developing States like ours.

It is time for us, the Member States of the United Nations, to redouble our efforts towards achieving the goal of freeing our world of the scourge of terrorism. What is now required is a consolidated and comprehensive approach to this multifaceted problem. It is incumbent upon us, the international community, to stand together in the face of the challenge posed to all of us by the recent terrorist attacks. The time has come for us to act immediately to ensure that all our peoples live in an environment of freedom and democracy. Our citizens must be able to carry out their normal daily activities free from fear. At the dawn of the third millennium, if we fail to act decisively, the consequences for humanity will be indeed grave.

Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal): On behalf of the Portuguese Government, although I have said it before, I must reiterate now how deeply we feel as a result of the tragic circumstances we are living through. It is time to try to use the opportunity of this debate to reflect further on our common commitment to work towards restoring peace and stability to the international scene.

In the last few weeks, we have witnessed a unique movement of solidarity by the international community towards the United States. That country, the host country of the United Nations, was subjected to vile provocation and aggression, deeply felt by its Government and people. The brutal terrorist attacks that killed thousands of innocent people — citizens from many countries, including my own — shocked the international community and created an unprecedented wave of repulsion. The expression of common grief with the American people took on tones never seen before, and the global political reaction could not have been more resolute.

The Government of my country made clear, from the very first instant, its firm position. We openly share the resolve of the United States to launch and sustain an international campaign, through various means and using various tools, to bring to justice those responsible for these criminal acts and to engage the international community in a concerted effort to avoid their repetition in the future.

We have acted on several fronts, from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to the European Union, from bilateral cooperation to the work of this General Assembly. We have acted without ambiguity, siding with those who have called for concrete measures to

punish the criminals, and declaring that we do not accept their impunity, nor will we tolerate it.

I call the Assembly's attention, in particular, to the political and practical response of the European Union in facing this crisis, to which its Presidency has already referred in a statement presented earlier in this debate on behalf of all member States of the Union.

The expression of solidarity with the United States was not only evident in bilateral terms. The American people were also given the clearest demonstration of solidarity from this Organization, the United Nations. Two important resolutions of the Security Council and one of the General Assembly were adopted by an inspiring unanimity, and the Secretary-General made clear the commitment of the Organization to remain at the forefront of the struggle against international terrorism.

This is a moment for action but, simultaneously, it is also a moment for reflection. This reflection must involve all areas of work of this Organization, exploiting all possible fields of activity that may contribute to tackling this problem, through direct or indirect means. We need to be open-minded in looking at the political, economic, social and ethnic background of this problem. We must not hide behind simplistic solutions to complex problems. We must see not only the trees but also the forest.

We refuse to be single-minded in focusing on what must be done. Some may say there are priorities to be followed and that we should concentrate on the most urgent ones. In our opinion, the only real priority is to solve the entire problem and, with that aim, we must be prepared to act simultaneously in all the different areas that may be relevant.

Nothing justifies international terrorism, and nobody in good faith would give reason to the minds of those responsible for terrorist acts. But let us not be blind: terrorism prospers and gets public support among populations subjected to particular situations of poverty, social and political exclusion and inequality. These factors do not, in any way, justify terrorism. Nevertheless, they contribute to increased tensions, promote conflict situations and thus provide fertile ground for extremism, fanaticism and other violent and unacceptable forms of political expression.

We must conduct this fight on all fronts, from constraining action to education, from justice enforcement and crime prevention to the promotion of development. Only with comprehensive solutions will it be possible to find ways to overcome problems of extreme complexity.

We are debating this important issue under very pressing circumstances. The practical conditions are now in place to begin a rigorous international response to bring to justice those personally responsible for the crimes and to pursue all legitimate actions in order to prevent their repetition in the future. A coherent campaign must be implemented on behalf of the values representing justice, tolerance and the dignity of human life. A fight must also be waged for our essential values of democracy, the rule of law and the pre-eminence of human rights. Maintaining and reaffirming these values, especially during the difficult moments we are going through, will be the best expression of our resolve not to see the normality of our societies challenged by criminals. We cannot allow terror to dictate the rules of our lives.

This becomes a decisive struggle between basic values, patterns of life and concepts of human dignity. But let us not confuse things. This is not a fight between civilizations. It is not a struggle between the West and the Muslim world. One need not use historical memory to understand that fanaticism and fundamentalism are not exclusive to any region, culture or religion.

It is also very important to note that the Muslim tradition has represented, throughout the centuries, one of the most tolerant forms of civilization. Its values belong to our common heritage, and in my own country we are very proud of the role these values have played in our history. Portugal has Arab and Muslim countries among its best friends, and we will never equate a most respected religion with a group of fanatics who have irresponsibly and unacceptably acted in its name.

Muslim countries and Muslim peoples have been afflicted for many years by international terrorism. They are as committed as we are to this struggle and, at this very delicate moment, I feel it is necessary to stress this before this Assembly. Let us be clear about this and firmly reject and fight all expressions of racism, xenophobia and related intolerance.

As I have said, Portugal has been working hard with its partners in the European Union to find the best ways and means to contribute to this common effort. European leaders recently decided to take major steps

to deal with this threat, bringing together many of our judicial and intelligence capacities. We believe that these efforts, to have full effect, should be pursued in other regional dimensions and be coordinated at the global level.

We urge Member States to consider taking all necessary measures to develop a framework of international judicial cooperation on criminal matters. This is the only way to ensure the necessary exchange of information to permit law enforcement institutions around the world to tackle the spread of international terrorism.

We must recognize that for some time the question of international terrorism has not been high on our agenda at the United Nations. We know the conceptual difficulties this Organization has had to confront on this issue and how problematic it has been to overcome them.

These latest events seem to have changed the entire scenario. It has become urgent and imperative not only to use all instruments of international law already in force, but also to redirect most of our future attention to the completion of the indispensable legal framework to allow the United Nations to place itself at the forefront of this programme of action.

In this context, we very much welcome the adoption of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). The Members of the United Nations also must accede, sign, ratify and implement the 12 conventions dealing with different aspects of international terrorism that constitute an existent cohesive body of law. Portugal has already ratified 10 of these conventions and has signed the other two, which are in the process of urgent ratification.

In the longer term, this Assembly must consider what other legislative measures it can take in this respect. The work of the working group created under the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly needs to be focused on the drafting of a comprehensive convention against international terrorism, in a manner that will preserve the *acquis* of the already existing conventions while addressing their lacunae.

This is a way to make this Organization useful across the spectrum of international efforts and to guarantee that its legitimacy and values remain at the core of all future actions to be implemented. We should never forget that this Organization is the highest and the universal expression of international cooperation and must always be preserved as such.

The Secretary-General has called our attention to the looming humanitarian tragedy faced by the people of Afghanistan. It is also imperative that the international community mobilize the necessary resources to assist the millions of refugees threatened with destitution and starvation.

Let me end on a hopeful note.

Our concerted efforts show clearly where the international community stands in the face of the recent tragic events. Our united nations can and will make a difference in the fight against the threats before us. It is a struggle for peace and respect for human life, where one needs to take into account the risks and the casualties that may befall us; a struggle for freedom, waged under the rule of law and full respect for human rights, democratic values and the basic principles by which this Organization abides.

Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania): It is now over three weeks since the dastardly terrorist acts of 11 September. Our sympathies are directed to the victims and our heartfelt condolences to the Government and the people of the United States of America and all countries that lost nationals in the Twin Towers. Our hearts and prayers are with all the victims.

Terrorism has no religion, race or nationality. However, terrorists normally exploit and use those elements for maximum effect. Terrorism is despicable. It is a cancer which if not rooted out will cause untold suffering to be visited upon our society and the world. In this effort, it is vitally important that the seeds of terrorism are addressed head-on.

The East African subregion has had an unfortunate brush with international terrorism. In August 1998, in a coordinated attack, terrorists bombed the Embassies of the United States of America in the capitals of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. A similar attempt against the United States Embassy in Kampala, Uganda, was thwarted. Over 200 people were killed, while thousands were injured. As a result, the East African subregion established a Joint Committee to coordinate our actions against terrorism.

It is in this regard that our country unreservedly joins in the collective expressions of outrage at the horrific acts of terrorism committed in New York,

Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania last month. Those terrorist acts represent an evolution of terrorism to horrific new proportions. Our collective anger must now be channelled towards concerted action to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The terror and the tragedies that terrorists unleash pose a threat to all societies. Evidently, terrorists take advantage of the inadequacies of international legal instruments, regulations, procedures and control, especially in this era of globalization, to elude justice and accountability. Sovereignty alone can no longer cope with the threat of international terrorism. Many of the recent tragedies have demonstrated the national approach to be grossly inadequate. The challenge to the international community is therefore how to overcome these constraints. Needless to say, the United Nations provides legitimacy for global ownership of the new war against terrorism.

Whereas our revulsion in the face of terrorism is non-negotiable, it is equally crucial that this body address the elements that breed such a cancer in society. When the dust has settled, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to ask the Secretary-General to come up with a report that will facilitate informed debate and ultimately a solution.

Tanzania is keenly aware that a successful war against terrorism will require a sustained, broad and coordinated effort. It will require practical cooperation. It will also require a review of our varying capabilities in waging this war. At times this will require rendering assistance to enhance the capabilities of those among us who may not be adequately equipped to confront the new war.

This is important. It is important because at times some information of vital significance may not be available from a country, even if required, only because some lack an appropriate regulatory regime to respond to the need. We must therefore devise collective strategies to enhance our common capabilities to address the challenge we face and to create a conducive, regulatory environment that is standardized, harmonized, effective and enforceable. A comprehensive convention to combat international terrorism is now an urgent requirement.

It is also our view that strategies that work must include exchange of information and capacity-building for intelligence and law enforcement within the broad alliance against terrorism. My country is painfully aware that terrorists act on a global scale. Therefore, a successful fight against terrorism demands international cooperation and continued unity among all of us. As we fight this war, no region, country or people must be made to feel they are of no strategic significance.

The United Republic of Tanzania welcomes resolution 1373 (2001), adopted by the Security Council in the wake of the tragic events of 11 September. Terrorists cannot survive and flourish on a large scale if their activities cannot be funded. The initiatives embodied in the instruments adopted by this Assembly, including the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, demand our unconditional support and implementation.

The United Nations has been and should be a multilateral forum for effective international action against the kind of diabolic acts we have witnessed in the recent past. Through this body, we can establish a rigorous but fair process for pursuing the perpetrators of terrorism. Indeed, through this body we have enacted landmark instruments providing appropriate mechanisms for enlisting foreign jurisdictions to cooperate in a multilateral framework for combating terrorism. We need to strengthen their implementation.

There is a host of ways in which terrorist activities could be funded. Some of these lie outside the formal regulatory regime. They have even included funding charitable organizations or the creation of offshore accounts. While most of these are lawful endeavours, others have opened a window for the funding of terrorism. To sort the legitimate from the illegitimate, cooperation with law enforcement at an international level is essential. But it is also critical that this action be pursued in a legitimate manner and in a way that respects the sovereignty of all States. Indeed, all our efforts to stamp out the scourge of terrorism must be pursued in a manner which does not stigmatize any people, religion or region, in the true spirit of the slogan now common in the streets beyond this Assembly: "United we stand."

Concerted international action and effective national measures are imperatives that go hand in hand. We in Tanzania are keenly aware of our domestic responsibilities in strengthening our collective efforts to combat terrorism. It is in this spirit that we support

eral and multilateral measures aimed at combating rism. It is in our common interest that we work idually and collectively towards our objective of cating the scourge of terrorism.

Mr. Balestra (San Marino): As this is the first I have taken the floor at the fifty-sixth session, let ongratulate the President on his election. His task be particularly complex and challenging, but we trust in his competence and ability to direct our along this difficult path.

On behalf of the people and Government of San no, I wish to declare once more our harsh and firm lemnation of the acts of inhuman violence etrated on 11 September. I would like to reiterate deepest solidarity of San Marino to the United s of America and its people, and express our est condolences to the families of the victims.

Under the norms of international criminal law, the September attack can be characterized as a crime nst humanity, because of its large-scale nature, and use it was directed against a civilian population. international nature of this crime creates a duty on tates to assist in bringing culprits to justice.

The dramatic and catastrophic events of 11 ember must make us reflect on the international ario that has emerged since. For the first time in ory, we are now forced to confront a new type of lict, different in nature and connotation from past licts. It does not appear in its traditional form; it is ner one State against another nor a State against a ical entity, and it is not even a State against a p of rebels or belligerents.

The sovereignty and integrity of a nation have violated by an obscure and surreptitious enemy, enemy without a face and without an identifiable cture. For these reasons, this enemy is merciless extremely frightening. All the countries in the ld, regardless of their size, ethnicity, political nization and economic condition, are exposed to new form of disruptive violence, which can and t be eradicated.

The world is no longer only a network of States xisting side by side, but, rather, has a dense and ster net of organized criminality, criminality nding its tentacles towards all corners of the planet. infamous chain of terrorism is ubiquitous, and its s are pervasive and hide among us.

Complete and unconditional international cooperation among States is almost the only weapon we possess to fight this threatening phenomenon. One more weapon we have against terrorism is the whole body of international law created to cooperate in this field. It is nevertheless clear that these instruments need to be ratified, implemented and complemented by measures and international agreements.

I do not want to make this statement any longer than it is. At this time, words are not necessary; we need facts.

In conclusion, I would like to assure the Assembly of the full and complete cooperation of the Republic of San Marino to annihilate this new plague of terrorism, strengthen international law and spread a culture of peace and tolerance.

Linking terrorism to a particular religion is a mistake, and is devious. Any form of violence, and terrorism in particular, perpetrated in the name of God is unacceptable and blasphemous.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): At the outset, I wish to reiterate the sentiments of deepest sympathy and condolences conveyed by President Sam Nujoma, and indeed by the Government and the people of Namibia, to our host country, the United States of America, and in particular to all the families of the victims of the despicable terror attacks of 11 September.

When the General Assembly adopted resolution 49/60, of 9 December 1994, the Member States did so in recognition of the thousands of victims of international terrorism. In so doing, we the Member States undertook to combat and eliminate terrorism in all its condemnable manifestations, and affirmed our resolve to live up to our collective responsibility under international law.

The human tragedy of 11 September has again shown what terrorism has always stood for: calculated acts of death and destruction, and hurting, killing or destroying innocent civilians and property without mercy. Its goal is the subordination of human life to the objectives of terrorists.

Indeed, various measures to eliminate international terrorism have been discussed by this body as far back as 1972. To that end several General Assembly resolutions have been adopted, urging our collective resolve to uproot the scourge of terrorism. Yet, many innocent people continue to be victims of

terrorist attacks in many parts of the world, not least in my own region. In the Southern African region, the terrorist activities of UNITA's Jonas Savimbi have gone beyond the boundaries of Angola. For years, the Angolan people have been deprived of peace, security and development. Thousands of them have been stripped of their livelihood and human dignity. Away from the cameras, their silent cries, their agony and their gruesome pain remain hidden from the world. Likewise, to date many people in Namibia have been killed and maimed as a result of the terrorist acts of Savimbi and his UNITA. Families have been harassed and have had their properties stolen or destroyed, all with the aim of instilling fear and insecurity among our people.

It is against that background that Namibia, together with other member States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), has continued to call for further strengthening of United Nations Security Council sanctions against UNITA. It is because of the untold suffering of civilians that Namibia continues to call on all Member States of the United Nations to honour and implement fully United Nations sanctions against UNITA. Indeed, it is due to our firm belief in the dignity of all people that we continue to press for the elimination of hunger, poverty and deprivation so that we can all feel a sense of belonging to the human family. Only then shall we have eliminated the breeding ground for fear, want and despair, in which terrorism thrives.

The terror attack that afflicted us all on 11 September, and terrorist activities all around the globe, must strengthen our collective determination to ensure security and prosperity for all people in the world.

The degree of sophistication of terrorist acts has improved significantly. Terrorism has assumed an increasingly globalized character. The abundant availability of both small arms and the most deadly sorts of weaponry, as well as easy access to the latest technology, help to create ever more dangerous types of terrorists. Furthermore, extensive international networks of organized criminals are creating an infrastructure that is seriously threatening the stability of countries and entire regions. At the same time, there is an increasing threat to areas that affect human life. Today, those areas include modes of transportation, global communications systems and other networks that regulate water and electricity consumption and cyber-inter-connectivity.

The world is, unfortunately, increasingly facing ever-evolving challenges and dangers — of which terrorism is undoubtedly among the greatest — that no State, big or small, rich or poor, can tackle alone. Regional cooperation and the coordination of efforts are therefore essential to combat terrorism. The adoption of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism by the heads of State and Government of the OAU was an important development in augmenting global action. Namibia has signed the Convention and is in the process of ratifying it. The need for financial and material support on the part of regional organizations in order to combat this evil cannot be overemphasized. In addition, regional organizations should coordinate their activities with the relevant United Nations agencies.

The consideration of this item in this forum again underscores the indispensable role of the United Nations, which responded unanimously by condemning the outrageous terrorist attacks. The United Nations is the central forum where we can all come together to agree on common policies affecting the international community, and on how to implement them. The General Assembly has for many decades adopted measures to combat terrorism. The 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism and the 1996 Declaration to Supplement that Declaration categorically condemned all terrorist acts, methods and practices, irrespective of political, philosophical, ideological, ethnic or religious considerations. So far, we have created a network of interlocking conventions that deal with the different facets of this scourge. It remains important for States to galvanize political will to become parties to those conventions and to ensure their full implementation.

Furthermore, new legal instruments are needed to counter specific forms and manifestations of terrorism. In that regard, the adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings are important achievements. Similarly, the pending convention against acts of nuclear terrorism must be finalized and effectively implemented. Of paramount importance, however, is the need to put in place a comprehensive convention for combating international terrorism. Such a convention would not only provide a sound juridical framework for the application of existing conventions,

but would also enable Member States to establish a universally agreed definition of terrorism.

For some time now the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been reiterating its call for an international summit or other conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations to formulate a joint international community response to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and for the urgent conclusion and effective implementation of a comprehensive convention on terrorism. We therefore join all those who have reiterated the call for the convening of such a conference or summit.

As I said before, combating terrorism requires coordinated and comprehensive strategies. That is especially true since terrorism tends increasingly to be accompanied by other heinous crimes with grave consequences. Many of them have recently come under the scrutiny of the United Nations. The issue of small arms is one of them. As long as those weapons are freely traded, terrorists will find no difficulty in arming themselves. All efforts must therefore be made comprehensively to implement the Programme of Action recently adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. Similarly, the power and capacity of terrorist organizations also depend to a great extent on clandestine financing. Therefore, if we are successful in cutting off lifelines such as weapons and financing, significant gains can be made in the fight against terrorism.

Over the years, the final communiqués of Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted at meetings held during various sessions of the General Assembly have, among other things, continued to address the need to combat terrorism. The Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement, in addressing the legitimate aspirations of peoples denied their right to self-determination, have stated:

> "We reaffirm the Movement's principled position under international law on the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for national liberation and self-determination, which does not constitute terrorism, and call once again for the definition of terrorism to differentiate it from the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation, for self-determination and national liberation."

For a people which for centuries has been subjected to colonial domination and which had to resort to a national liberation struggle, such a distinction is vital. We must together ensure that in the twenty-first century no human being will live in bondage or suppression. Only then can we guarantee the security of all of us and that of future generations.

In the Millennium Declaration, world leaders confirmed the fundamental values essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include the right of men and women to live their lives free from fear of violence. Terrorism defies that value. However, the world leaders also resolved to take concerted action against international terrorism and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions. Clearly, there can be no greater urgency than at this moment to implement this undertaking fully and comprehensively.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm that the Namibian Government unequivocally condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whatever its motives and origins, and wherever and by whomsoever it is committed. Namibia stands ready to cooperate with the international community in the fight against terrorism to ensure that the world is permanently rid of this evil. This is the time for all of us to reaffirm our commitment to peace and unity of purpose to strengthen our fight against all forms of international terrorism.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada): On behalf of the Government and the people of Canada, I begin today by expressing our condolences to the families of the people — the vast majority of them United States citizens, but also Canadians and many other nationalities — who died in the terrorist attacks of 11 September. I also express the profound sympathy of the staffs of the Canadian Mission to the United Nations and of the Canadian Consulate in New York. The people who lost their lives were our neighbours, our friends, our acquaintances; they were the fire-fighters from our local stations, the police officers from our local precincts. We are New Yorkers, as they were New Yorkers. There but for the grace of God went any one of us in this Hall. This debate is about honouring the memory of the people who died in New York and Washington and Pennsylvania, and of the countless other innocent victims of terrorism around the world.

Fate does not play favourites; there is no safe distance from terrorism, and there is no diplomatic immunity from evil. This time, we have been the lucky ones. But that luck carries with it a profound duty.

And so, on behalf of the Government of Canada, I express Canada's resolve not to forgive, not to forget the perpetrators of these heinous acts, and not to rest until they are brought to justice.

The right of Canada, and of the United States and of all other United Nations Members, to self-defence is clear under international law, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and recognized again most recently in Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). Canada has joined in the invocation by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) of article V, the mutual defence article, of the North Atlantic Treaty. I am here to pledge Canada's full participation in the struggle that lies ahead.

(*spoke in French*)

The Government of Canada fully supports the Secretary-General in his appeal to all Member states to ratify and implement all existing counter-terrorism instruments. Canada has implemented 10 of the counter-terrorism conventions, and the Government will introduce shortly the requisite legislation to implement the remaining two: the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. With respect to the adoption of a draft comprehensive convention against terrorism and of a draft convention against nuclear terrorism, we urge all Member States to join us in surmounting the remaining difficulties and completing the negotiations this autumn. If not now, when? If not by this Assembly, by whom?

(*spoke in English*)

Success against terrorists requires cooperative and coordinated action. To succeed, we need an active and forward defence, and we must also take the fight to the terrorists. We must keep them on the defensive, without safe haven or succour. Combining a good domestic defence with an active offence is the only way nations of the world will be able to exercise effectively their right to self-defence and restore an acceptable measure of security.

The Government of Canada commends the Security Council for the outstanding work it has done in resolution 1373 (2001). The wide range of action prescribed in that resolution — from denying financing and safe haven to encouraging compliance and implementation — will take the fight to the terrorists. We particularly applaud the decision of the Council to establish a committee to monitor the implementation of the resolution and the call for States parties to report on actions they have taken in accordance with the resolution. What monitoring mechanisms on compliance ensure is that commitments are matched by action and words are matched by deeds. States that are genuine in their pledges to fight terrorism need not fear the oversight of their peers.

(*spoke in French*)

Canada is already largely in compliance with resolution 1373 (2001). On Tuesday of this week, Ottawa promulgated regulations under Canada's United Nations Act to implement key provisions of the resolution, including prohibiting financing and fundraising for, as well as freezing the assets of, terrorists. The Government is urgently reviewing existing legislation and administrative practices to determine what else needs to be done to put Canada into full compliance with the remaining provisions of the resolution.

In response to the Secretary-General's recent appeal, we have contributed an additional $5 million to help the dispossessed of Afghanistan; if circumstances warrant providing more assistance, we will provide more. We also stand ready to help those who might need technical assistance in drawing up their own legislation, as we have done for those who needed help in giving legislative effect to the undertakings they have made with respect to the International Criminal Court. We invite others likewise to assist in this capacity-building effort.

(*spoke in English*)

We Canadians will work with our American friends and neighbours to make our respective North American homelands as secure as two open, democratic societies can be. In doing so, we will be true to our values, and we will draw strength from our diversity. At the same time, we will take the steps we judge necessary to ensure the safety of Canadians and to reassure our American neighbours that Canada is not now, and will not become, an insecure back door to their heartland. By the way, on this score, it is worth noting that to this point there has been no evidence that

the perpetrators of the 11 September attacks crossed the border into the United States from Canada. Still, we know that we, like others, have work to do to enhance our common security, and we are resolved to do it.

To oversee the Canadian effort and to address immediate concerns, Prime Minister Chrétien announced Monday the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee of Ministers on Public Security and Anti-Terrorism under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable John Manley. The Committee will review legislation, regulations, policies and programmes, including those bearing on Canada's relations with the United States, to enable the Government to adjust promptly Canada's approach to public security.

We recognize that national action and bilateral cooperation are necessary, but not sufficient, to ensure our national security. Much more is needed. As the Secretary-General pointed out in opening this debate, as terrible as the crimes of 11 September were, they would have been much worse if the terrorists had had access to weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore also our duty to work together here in this Hall to strengthen global norms against the proliferation and the use of weapons of mass destruction. Let us enhance the non-proliferation regime by ratifying the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, by enhancing the Missile Technology Control Regime and proceeding to conclude the Biological Weapons Protocol. Let us also build on the modest results of the small arms Conference held in July. Let us ratify as well the statute of the International Criminal Court, and let us universalize the Ottawa Convention on landmines. Let us recognize that à la carte multilateralism will not make any of us any safer. Clearly, strong multilateral cooperation in fighting terrorism is necessary.

To advance that cooperation, we should also innovate to strengthen our present anti-terrorism instruments. Why not consider new bodies with strong and specific counter-terrorism mandates and adequate resources to facilitate and coordinate our efforts? Why not borrow some of the features of the Missile Technology Control Regime, particularly the idea that membership in good standing confers privileges and bad standing incurs consequences? Why not set up a dedicated United Nations Secretariat body with a mandate for research and capacity-building from Member States? Why not a high commissioner or a special representative of the Secretary-General against terrorism?

The terrorists sought to sow fear, but they are reaping outrage. They sought to trigger a war among civilizations, but they have galvanized world opinion against themselves and against their twisted enterprise. They have induced neither retreat nor resignation, but, instead, a determination and a whole host of concrete actions aimed at them. Rather than strike a blow against the rule of law, they have struck a unifying chord among nations.

The world is watching us this week. Our words will be noted, our promises entrusted to memory. But our promise to honour the victims of terrorism will be judged not by what we say here, but by what we do.

The opportunity and the privilege to do genuine and enduring good are given to very few. That opportunity and that challenge have been given to us. Let us discharge our obligation to the victims. Let us seize the moment by showing that the killing of innocents is never justifiable and that the rule of law must always prevail over hate. Let us lose no time in doing our duty. Let the terrorists rue the day they challenged the common decency of humanity.

Mr. Tadmoury (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): On 11 September last, the world was stunned by the horror of the tragedy that struck the United States of America as a result of the barbaric acts of terror that killed thousands of innocents, terrified civilians and led to devastating losses for the entire international community. But expressions of condemnation and outrage cannot fully express the feelings of grief and sadness that have gripped so many throughout the world.

In discussing the events that took place in the United States of America in the framework of the debate on measures to eliminate international terrorism, we must recall the efforts that have been made by the international community to address the issue of terrorism since 1972. These efforts have led to the adoption of 12 conventions against terrorism, while the international community is currently drafting a comprehensive convention on international terrorism and concluding its consideration of unresolved issues related to the draft convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. We cannot fail to commend the role of the Ad Hoc Committee on terrorism and express the hope that it will retain on its agenda the

issue of convening a high-level international conference under United Nations auspices to prepare a joint organized response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

Since the 1970s, the Arab States have launched serious initiatives to combat terrorism, including the call to convene an international conference to define terrorism and another to combat it. These initiatives have enjoyed widespread international support. It would be useful to recall that Arab States have adopted anti-terrorist conventions in the context of the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity. In this regard, I would add that Lebanon has acceded to and ratified 10 of the 12 relevant international conventions on international terrorism.

Our meeting today is an important opportunity to inform the Assembly of Lebanon's position in the wake of the terrorist attacks in the United States of America on 11 September. Lebanon reiterates its readiness to cooperate in all seriousness and responsibility with the United States of America and the United Nations in combating terrorism in the context of the principles of international law and national sovereignty. Lebanon is prepared to respond positively to any international initiative to formulate a common definition of terrorism, including the initiative to convene an international conference. Lebanon reaffirms the need to avoid linking terrorism to Arabs and Muslims in order to avoid a clash of civilizations and of religions. Finally, Lebanon stresses the need to differentiate between the legitimate struggle of peoples against foreign occupation and terrorism, which attacks human rights and all the human values enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the current circumstances of the world today, Lebanon and its President, Government and people reaffirm their condemnation and denunciation of and revulsion at the terrorist attacks against New York and Washington, D.C. These tragedies have moved peoples throughout the world and shaken international stability. The terrifying images we have seen will forever remain evidence of the horrific nature of and the need to combat terrorism, which has been denounced by all peoples of the world.

The battle against terrorism must not be carried out by military means alone. We believe that the international community is called upon today to make further urgent efforts to resolve the fundamental conflicts that are festering in many regions of the world today. Every day, those conflicts inspire despair, frustration and violence. Foremost among these conflicts is that between Arabs and Israelis, the core of which is Israel's occupation of Arab lands by force and without legitimacy. Having reached an advanced stage, the peace process in the Middle East came to a halt, wasting much precious time.

Today, we have a significant opportunity to end this historic conflict on the basis of the resolutions of international legitimacy, particularly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978). Surely, a just and comprehensive settlement will strengthen stability, peace and security in such a vital region of the world.

History teaches us that dialogue, outreach, tolerance and understanding are the means of interaction between civilizations in a world where there is no longer any place for isolationism or withdrawal into one's own cocoon. The United Nations, created by the will of its Member States and in which all of the world's civilizations are represented, is called upon to reactivate its humanitarian and cultural bodies to attenuate the artificial perceived tensions among civilizations, to promote its role in addressing crises, to uproot evil, to establish justice and righteousness and to raise the flag of outreach among States and peoples.

Mr. Okio (Congo) (*spoke in French*): In taking the floor for the first time, I should like to join all previous speakers in extending my sincere congratulations to Mr. Han and to the other members of the Bureau on their election and to assure them of my delegation's full cooperation. Mr. Han's great experience as a diplomat and specialist in economic issues are extremely valuable and will, we are sure, enable him successfully to conclude his difficult and exalted tasks.

Mr. Rodolphe Adada, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonia of the Republic of the Congo — who is unable to attend this debate — has asked a member of the Congo mission to read out the following message:

> "On 11 September 2001 — a day which some speakers have called 'Black Tuesday' — a

word was written in letters of blood in the sky of the United States of America: terrorism. In attacking the United States and the cosmopolitan and quintessentially international city of New York only a few days before the opening of the special session of the General Assembly on children, the terrorists once again demonstrated the appalling nature of their ideology and, above all, the rampant threat which they represent. In a word, they laid down a challenge to the international community.

"Having learned of these attacks, on 12 September the Council of Ministers of the Government of the Republic of the Congo, presided over by His Excellency Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the President of the Republic and head of State, met to unequivocally condemn those barbaric acts and to declare themselves in solidarity with the people and the Government of America and to express their profound condolences to the bereaved families. At the national level, steps were taken to protect American interests on Congolese soil.

"By showing us just how vulnerable we are, those barbaric acts have prompted us to ask who might be next if we are not united and resolute in our response.

"It is clear that what is at stake in our debate are the hopes and fears of our populations, for whom the threat of terrorism is now more real than ever.

"Indeed, in the wake of these barbarous acts, we cannot fail to recall that the Congo became the victim of a terrorist act on 19 September 1989, when a UTA Airlines DC-10 civilian aircraft was blown up over the Ténéré desert, Niger, resulting in the death of nearly 200, including 49 Congolese nationals.

"Congo built a memorial in the centre of its capital city as a tribute to those innocent victims.

"Furthermore, in memory of all the innocent victims of terrorism throughout the world, 19 May has been proclaimed a 'Day to Combat Terrorism'. It has been commemorated each year since 1996 as a way to demonstrate our condemnation of terrorism, as well as to ensure that our people remain alert in the face of a continuing threat.

"Generally speaking, there has also, unfortunately, been a steady increase in the number of terrorist acts on our continent of Africa.

"The horrific nature of all of these acts reveals the real threat that the rejection of diversity and fanaticism represents to modern civilization and the values of peace, fraternity, freedom and tolerance that characterize human society and the community of nations.

"That is why the Government of the Congo believes that actions such as those that have plunged the United States of America and the democratic world into mourning are likely to set humanity back several years, and that the problems that arise in today's world cannot and will not be resolved through acts of terrorism.

"Given the threat of terrorism, which is now global in nature, the fundamental question is how to combat a scourge that transcends the borders of States.

"In this regard, our Government has chosen to participate broadly in multilateral instruments to combat terrorism and, on that basis, we have adopted several measures aimed at incorporating into our domestic legislation our international obligations to prevent and suppress international terrorism.

"The recent acts of terrorism, which we condemn, have prompted us not only to declare that we are in solidarity with the people and Government of the United States but, in particular, to reaffirm solemnly the Government of the Congo's attachment to and support for all initiatives designed to eradicate international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

"The Republic of the Congo is aware that the struggle against terrorism will require the participation of all modern States that are dedicated to progress, respect for human rights, peace and international security. The solution must be a transnational one.

"My delegation would like to emphasize the need to use the entire arsenal of existing legal

instruments designed to combat terrorism — that is, the 12 that are now available.

"That is why we support all concerted action taken in solidarity with the international community aimed at strengthening international cooperation for the prevention and suppression of terrorism in all of its manifestations.

"Certainly, our response will be effective only if we act in solidarity. However, our struggle will be incomplete without a renewed vision of what our commitments must be and unless we take into account the new and recent developments in international terrorism.

"Modern-day terrorism is using modern technology and modern conveniences.

"It is therefore imperative that the international community fully implement the international anti-terrorist conventions and prepare itself for the new form of struggle that is required of it.

"This new vision, which we fully support, can guide this session and enable it to improve the effectiveness of the existing legal framework while working to conclude negotiations on a draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

"Convinced that the best and most lasting way of ensuring collective, concerted action in solidarity aimed at the elimination of international terrorism, the Congo, acting with great conviction, optimism and determination, would like to join with the entire international community to take action against terrorists and those who provide them with support of any kind."

Mr. Tolentino Dipp (Dominican Republic) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Government of the Dominican Republic would like to reaffirm that it condemns the terrorist acts that took place in the cities of New York and Washington. We would also like to express once again our sympathy for the pain and grief that is afflicting this nation and other nations as a result of the loss of their citizens who became the victims of this indescribable tragedy.

At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States on 21 September, the Dominican Republic expressed explicit support for a resolution condemning the attacks against the United States of America and repudiating terrorism. In line with that position, the Dominican Republic will give its vote of approval to the conclusions of the General Assembly, confident as we are that they will be in line with the principles of peace, cooperation and solidarity that constitute the historical foundations of this Organization.

Since 1972, the United Nations has expressed its concern about the spread of terrorism, aware that global aspirations for a better world will never be fulfilled as long as hatred and violence persist. Many agreements have been adopted by this Organization in order to prevent, fight and condemn actions that are fuelled by such sentiments.

The creation of an Ad Hoc Committee with the mandate to elaborate a comprehensive convention on terrorism and to organize a high-level conference to formulate an organized, joint response from the international community to all manifestations of terrorism, are clear signs of this concern.

These initiatives also reflect the Organization's determination to strengthen international cooperation aimed at establishing a legal order that is both respectful of its institutional Charter and, at the same time, practical and effective in combating this threatening scourge.

We, the Member States, must not shrink from heeding the persistent appeals of the United Nations to ratify these agreements.

Unfortunately, these recent tragic events, which, due to their magnitude, touched our collective conscious horrifically and put us on our guard, inform us that now more than ever the entire international community should reflect deeply on terrorism.

The attacks on New York and Washington were considered aggressions against peace and triggered a spontaneous demonstration of solidarity on the need to develop the legal mechanisms necessary to fight terrorism and to forge the truly harmonious coexistence of all peoples.

However, the most distinguished virtue of the democratic essence of the United Nations is its vocation and will to respect human rights. Thus, although we recognize that terrorism is the antithesis of that virtue, we should not combat it by abandoning

those rights, pursuing a reaction of legitimate defence spurred by vengeance. Rather, we should apply international law and justice.

To the benefit of this democratic vocation and will, the leaders of the United States Government have often affirmed that the response to the terrorist acts of 11 September will not be the product of vengeance. That stance honours their humanist and democratic tradition, the legacy of the founding fathers of this great nation.

Despite the sad consequences of terrorism, we must not become divided or contradict each other in a fight that we are all a part of. The fight against terrorism must set an example in emphasizing the respect that humanity professes for the virtue of democracy and the principles it stands for.

On the other hand, we wish to reiterate our conviction that terrorism is a phenomenon linked to multiple circumstances, whose origins lie beyond ideological concepts. While we must recognize the actions that security organizations and military institutions must logically take in order to combat terrorism, we must also analyse its causes in order to behead the thousand-headed hydra it has shown itself to be.

The persistence and increase of injustice, extreme poverty, starvation, drugs, exclusion, prejudice, despair due to lack of opportunities spawn delirium and irrationality, which often erupts in uncontrolled violence.

The fight against terrorism must, above all, be one of prevention, combat, and the condemnation of such social diseases.

Therefore, we cannot content ourselves with defining terrorism in order to understand its causes. The definition of terrorism is already quite clear in terms of its goals and actions. Its causes, rather, are what should concern us most, since that is where its origins and manifestations are rooted.

These thoughts move us to propose that in the conclusions we reach in the General Assembly, we must instruct the Ad Hoc Committee on terrorism to study in detail the economic, social, and cultural causes that might foment terrorism. We sincerely believe that a study of this nature could contribute positively to the eradication of this debased form of human conduct.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.